

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 BIB-01

CCO-00 OTPE-00 EB-07 FCC-01 OC-05 COME-00 CU-02 IO-11

SCA-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-05 OIC-02 /094 R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, US, UR

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON RADIO BROADCASTING

LANGUAGE IN CSCE FINAL ACT

REF: STATE 041095

1. THE FOLLOWING IS FOR EMBASSY'S BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

2. THE LANGUAGE ON RADIO BROADCASTING WHICH IS CONTAINED  
IN THE CSCE FINAL ACT IS A RESULT OF A DIFFICULT TWO-YEAR  
NEGOTIATION, MUCH OF WHICH WAS CONDUCTED BILATERALLY BE-  
TWEEN US AND SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES. THE WESTERN COUNTRIES,  
ORIGINALLY LED BY THE UK AND SWITZERLAND, PROPOSED IN SEP  
1973 LANGUAGE PROHIBITING OBSTACLES TO RECEIPT OF BROAD-  
CASTS FROM OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANT STATES. THE SOVIETS  
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TOOK THE POSITION THAT SUCH LANGUAGE WOULD BE PUBLICLY

HUMILIATING TO THE USSR SINCE IT WOULD CLEARLY PROHIBIT THEIR JAMMING OF OVERSEAS BROADCASTS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIETS CALLED ATTENTION TO THEIR CESSATION OF JAMMING OF VOA AT THE OUTSET OF THE CSCE.

3. IN ORDER TO MAKE A REFERENCE TO JAMMING MORE PALATABLE TO THE SOVIETS AND TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE FACT THAT THEY HAD CALLED ATTENTION TO THEIR REDUCTION IN JAMMING, A NOVEMBER 1974 WESTERN COMPROMISE PROPOSAL MUTED THIS REFERENCE AS FOLLOWS:

"THEY EXPRESS THEIR CONVICTION THAT THE PROGRESS IN THE REALM OF RADIO BROADCASTING REALIZED SINCE THE BEGINNING OF WORK IN GENEVA WILL CONTINUE FURTHER".

4. THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING LIKE THIS PHRASE UNLESS A SENTENCE WAS ADDED TO IT PLACING RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONTENT OF BROADCASTING SQUARELY ON THE STATE FROM WHOSE TERRITORY THE BROADCASTS WERE TRANSMITTED. THEY MADE SEVERAL STRONGLY WORDED PROPOSALS IN THIS VEIN. THE WESTERN SIDE REFUSED TO ACCEPT ANY LANGUAGE WHICH CONVEYED SUCH AN IMPLICATION AND, BECAUSE OF THE TOUGH SOVIET POSITION, THE WESTERN EUROPEANS GRADUALLY LOST INTEREST IN PURSUING ANY SPECIFIC LANGUAGE ON BROADCASTING. THE US, HOWEVER, PERSISTED, AND AFTER LENGTHY PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS, THE SOVIETS FINALLY ACCEPTED LANGUAGE WHICH MENTIONS ONLY THE IMPROVED SITUATION, I.E., THE REDUCTION IN JAMMING, AND NOT RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONTENT OF BROADCASTING:

THE PARTICIPATING STATES NOTE THE EXPANSION IN THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION BROADCAST BY RADIO, AND EXPRESS THE HOPE FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THIS PROCESS, SO AS TO MEET THE INTEREST OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES AND THE AIMS SET FORTH BY THIS CONFERENCE".

5. IN THIS SENTENCE, THE PHRASE "EXPANSION IN THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION BROADCAST BY RADIO" REFERS TO THE CESSATION OF SOVIET JAMMING OF VOA IN THE FALL OF 1973. THE SENTENCE EXPRESSES TWO THOUGHTS REGARDING

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THIS "EXPANSION": 1) IT EXPRESSES THE HOPE FOR ITS CONTINUATION; AND 2) IT INDICATES THAT A CONTINUATION OF THIS, EXPANSION" WILL, OR SHOULD, "MEET THE INTEREST OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES AND THE AIMS SET FORTH BY THIS CONFERENCE". THE WORDS "SO AS TO" CAN BE READ TO MEAN EITHER THAT THE "EXPANSION" WILL MEET THESE OBJECTIVES, OR THAT IT SHOULD MEET THESE OBJECTIVES. THIS AMBIGUITY WAS RETAINED AT THE INSISTENCE OF THE USSR IN

ORDER THAT THE LANGUAGE OF THIS PHRASE NOT CONVEY AN UN-QUALIFIED COMMITMENT TO ELIMINATE JAMMING OF ALL OVERSEAS BROADCASTS. IN EITHER CASE, HOWEVER, THE SENTENCE DOES NOT REFER TO THE CONTENT OF BROADCASTS AND THUS, DESPITE THE AMBIGUITY NOTED ABOVE, IT CANNOT BE READ AS MEANING THAT THE "PROPAGATION" OF INFORMATION BY RADIO SHOULD MEET THESE OBJECTIVES.

6. THUS WE CANNOT AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT CONTAINED IN THE KORNIYENKO ,NON-PAPER" OF OCTOBER 14 THAT "IT IS

CLEARLY STATED IN THE FINAL ACT THAT PROPAGATION OF INFORMATION BY RADIO SHOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PEOPLES AS WELL AS THE GOALS DETERMINED BY THE CONFERENCE". ON THE CONTRARY, THE CSCE LANGUAGE STATES THAT IT IS THE CONTINUED REDUCTION OF JAMMING WHICH MEETS THESE OBJECTIVES.

7. FURTHERMORE, THE PREAMBLE TO THE INFORMATION SECTION OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT STATES THAT "THE PARTICIPATING STATES...MAKE IT THEIR AIM TO FACILITATE THE FREER AND WIDER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION OF ALL KINDS...". BROADCASTING BY VOA, RFE AND RL IS CLEARLY IN ACCORD WITH THIS PROVISION; THIS LANGUAGE ALSO PLACES A RESPONSIBILITY ON THE SOVIETS "TO FACILITATE THE FREER AND WIDER DISSEMINATION" OF THESE BROADCASTS. INGERSOLL

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